

Historic, Archive Document

Do not assume content reflects current scientific knowledge, policies, or practices.

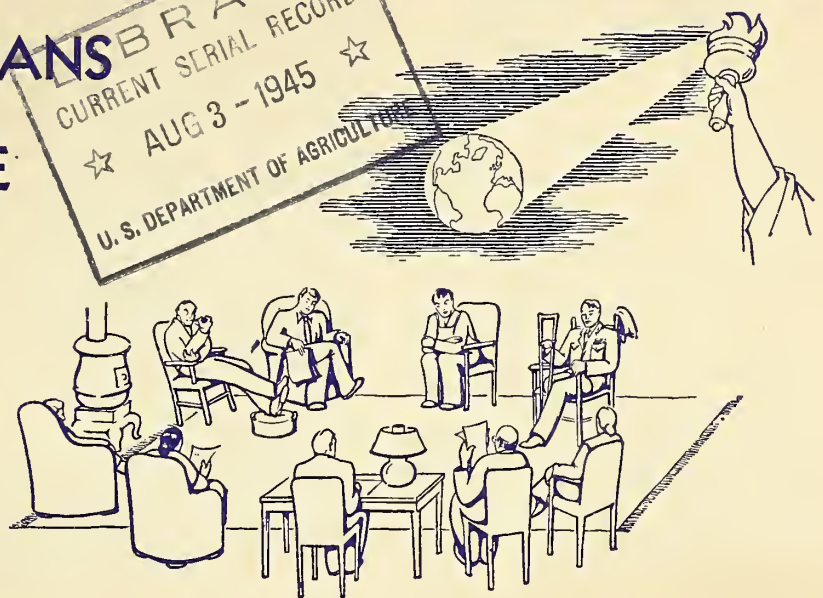
8605
7

Let's talk about WORLD PEACE ORGANIZATION and WHAT IT MEANS TO FARM PEOPLE

*An aid for your discussion
of the United Nations Idea*

From the United States
Department of Agriculture

D. S. 28



How to keep world war from striking again—that is the question.

We fought one war to end wars. And we won it. But for some reason it didn't "end wars."

Now we are in the midst of a second world war that dwarfs all earlier wars in human and material cost: millions upon millions killed, whole populations mauled, three continents scorched.

Our own American shores have been spared the direct shock of battle, but experts say that another war could not be kept from American soil. And in this war millions of our sons and daughters are paying a terrible price on distant sea and field to defeat the armed forces of Germany and Japan and pave the way for a just and lasting peace.

Farm people have as great a stake in such a peace as anyone else. Nearly a million from farm homes were in the armed forces in February 1944; 200,000 more had been discharged after service. To families back home, the war has also meant

years of strain to produce to the limit. Besides, farmers remember what they have lost from deflation of markets after past wars and from drying-up of foreign trade when wars have threatened.

We will win this war. But how can we make sure of a just and lasting peace? Which way after the war—for the Nation and for the world?

Toward drawing up a careful plan, two conferences of experts in foreign and military affairs, 53 experts in all, met at Dumbarton Oaks, beautiful old residence in Washington, D. C., August to October, 1944. Experts from the United States and British Governments met first with delegates from the Soviet Union, later with delegates from China. Behind the conference lay months of study by each of these Governments.

On October 9, 1944, the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals were published as agreed to in these "Conversations." Beginning April 25, 1945, a full United Nations Conference is meeting at San Francisco to draw up

a Charter for a United Nations Organization on the basis of these proposals. This Charter will go straightway to the Governments concerned for consideration and decision.

This means that soon thereafter the Charter will probably be in the hands of Congress—our *representatives*. In the end, the decision will be up to *us, the people*. We never faced a more important decision. We need to talk this thing through, all of us—to the last person in the land. Our Department of State urges that we do so, and holds out a welcome to both individual and group expressions of opinions.

For your help, this discussion guide has tried to sum up the proposals and bring to the top the main questions and important facts involved. During the next few months especially, could you make this your first order of business in neighborhood round tables and in farm and home organization meetings? Let's not make any mistake in this time of great decision.

WHY HAVE WE HAD WARS?



If we want to prevent war, we shall have to get at the CAUSES of war.

What would you say HAVE BEEN the main causes?

One consideration: Until recently, there were wars because war was the only way of settling disputes between nations, which couldn't be talked out. There wasn't any effective organized provision for settling them peaceably.

BUT there ARE peaceful ways of settling disputes. We have disputes within the Nation every day. They get settled—almost always without shooting. Perfect justice is not always done, but a settlement is reached, and if somebody starts to shoot he soon lands in jail.

To what extent did this war result from weaknesses of the League of Nations?

What weight, if any, would you assign to each of the following as causes of the disputes underlying World War II? (1) Axis militarism and ambition to conquer the world. (2) Unequal division among nations of land and mineral and other resources. (3) Trade barriers and economic warfare. (4) Hunger and unemployment of depression years in most countries, setting the stage for dictatorship in the Axis nations.

What other main causes? Why hunger in the modern world?

Some facts: By modern technology, men can produce from the resources at hand in the world enough food and clothing and fuel and other essentials of life for everybody. Yet two-thirds of the people in the world

today and one-third of the people in the United States, through poverty ignorance, or indifference, are undernourished most of the time.

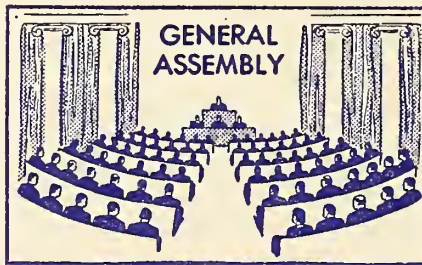
NO nation cut off from other nations COULD rise to a very high standard of living today. Industry holds out great gains to men, but industry means nations depending on each other and people within nations depending on each other. Industrial nations have to trade to live. For example, 18 of the 37 most important materials in your telephone set came from outside the United States.

Why unemployment in this inter dependent world?

The idea has grown that, to get at the roots of war in such a world, we shall have to come at the problems internationally—through a world organization. Hence the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

HOW CAN WE KEEP THE PEACE?

Dumbarton Oaks—Ground Plan For San Francisco



WHAT IS PROPOSED IN AN OVER-ALL WAY? Dumbarton Oaks proposed an Organization to undertake both sides of the job: (1) Help build the conditions of peace and prevent the conditions which lead to war; (2) help settle disputes peaceably when they do arise and use united force if necessary to prevent or stop armed conflict. Are those good purposes?

The General Assembly of the United Nations Organization would meet

once a year to make decisions in both of these fields, with member nations equally represented — one vote to each member. (See chart, page 4.)

The work of building the conditions of peace would be assigned to the *Economic and Social Council* and to the special organizations related to it. Member nations would agree to employ all known means, including the *International Court of Justice*, for



settling their disputes peaceably. They entrust the prevention of armed conflict to the *Security Council* with its *Military Staff Committee*.

The *Secretariat*, headed by a *Secretary General* elected by the General Assembly, would carry on all the administrative business of the Organization.

All "peace-loving nations" could join, and it is hoped that in the end ALL nations would be members. By and large, the nations would unite in a free compact of free States rather than in a world "federation." Decisions would have to be supported by the member nations to be effective.



WHAT DO YOU THINK? Leaving out matters of detail, should Uncle Sam join ANY world organization, or should he try to keep out of the affairs of other nations? For the present? For all time? CAN we keep out of their affairs?

AN ORGANIZATION TO BUILD PEACE

WHAT IS PROPOSED? The *Economic and Social Council* would have one representative from each of 18 member nations elected by the *General Assembly*. Two permanent *Commissions* would carry on the continuing work of this *Council*, and a whole set of specialized agencies, as pictured, would function under its framework. The Council's job is: (1) To study the whole field of world economic and social and humanitarian problems, including how to promote the rights and basic freedoms of the people; (2) to help the specialized organizations fit their programs together; and (3) to recommend solutions for problems.

Much has already been accomplished in special fields.

The *International Labor Organization* HAS BEEN at work since 1919. Its purposes: (1) To improve the living conditions of working people everywhere; and (2) to cut down between nations the friction that is due to unequal conditions of work and so reduce trade barriers. Its notable work will be continued in the new framework.

People everywhere need enough food, and food of the right kind. To the extent that they can acquire it peacefully the danger of war is reduced. Fittingly, then, the first United Nations Conference, at Hot Springs, Va., in May 1943, laid the foundations for the *United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization*, which is discussed later.

War-torn areas and their people need immediate relief as they are liberated from the enemy. That looks like a matter of world concern. So a *United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration* was planned in a Conference at Atlantic City in November 1943. It is playing a part in Europe now.

Trade between nations tends to bog

down if money keeps changing in value in the different countries. So an *International Monetary Fund* was planned by the United Nations Conference on the Stabilization of World Currencies at Bretton Woods, N. H., in July 1944.

Countries devastated by the war will have to borrow money to buy seed grain and machinery for wasted farms and factories. And undeveloped countries can become good traders in world markets if investments are made to develop their production and buying power. So plans were also laid for an *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development* at the Bretton Woods Conference.

To deal with world aviation problems after the war, a *United Nations Conference on International Civil Aviation* was held at Chicago in November 1944.

Spadework is under way for other United Nations Conferences in the fields of world trade, shipping, petroleum, control of international cartels, etc. Conferences will be called when the preliminary study and discussion have advanced far enough. And it is proposed that organization in *all* these fields be included as parts of the general United Nations Organization.

WHAT DO YOU THINK? What might these various organizations mean to farm people?

Are the freedoms of other people any concern of ours? Is the growth of representative govern-



ment in other nations any of our business? How closely should we be willing to unite, in the cause of world peace, with governments that are less republican than ours?

Should the Economic and Social

Council and the agriculture and labor and other special organizations be authorized to do more than study and discuss and recommend? What else? Is there a need for government on the world level?

On the matter of world trade, does the United States NEED other nations? Their raw materials? Their production? Their services? Their markets for our products? In the interest of independence, would it be desirable to cut ourselves off from these resources and these markets?

Some facts: Before the war the United States got all of its rubber, its coffee, its tea, its chocolate, its silk, and most of its bananas, as well as all of certain rare metals needed in making steel, from foreign countries. And we were dependent on foreign countries for marketing about 40 percent of our cotton, one-third of our tobacco, nearly one-tenth of our wheat, and much of our lard, prunes, raisins, apples, pears, oranges and rice.

What would happen to the standard of living in the United States without these? What would happen to it if agreements were worked out soon binding all nations to reduce trade barriers and buy things from nations that can produce them best? Or agreements binding particular nations to reduce particular barriers as under our pre-war Reciprocal Trade Agreements? *The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (F. A. O.).*

Here are some details on one of these specialized agencies—one of special interest to farmers.

At the Hot Springs Conference, the United Nations started out to make good on their peace aims: "Freedom from want of food," they said, "can be achieved." Toward this they recommended that a permanent *United Nations Food and Agriculture*

Organization be established. And they set up an *Interim Commission* to draw a plan for such an organization.

By March 1945 this *Interim Commission*, with its headquarters in Washington, D. C., had drafted a Constitution for the F. A. O., and 18 nations had indicated their intention to accept it. When 20 nations have approved it, the permanent organization is to be established and work will begin at once.



The goals of the F. A. O.: (1) Better nutrition and higher standards of living for people everywhere; (2) more efficient production and distribution of farm products; (3) better conditions of rural living; (4) an "expanding world economy": more goods produced, more people served, more workers at work and at better pay, and freer exchange of goods and services.

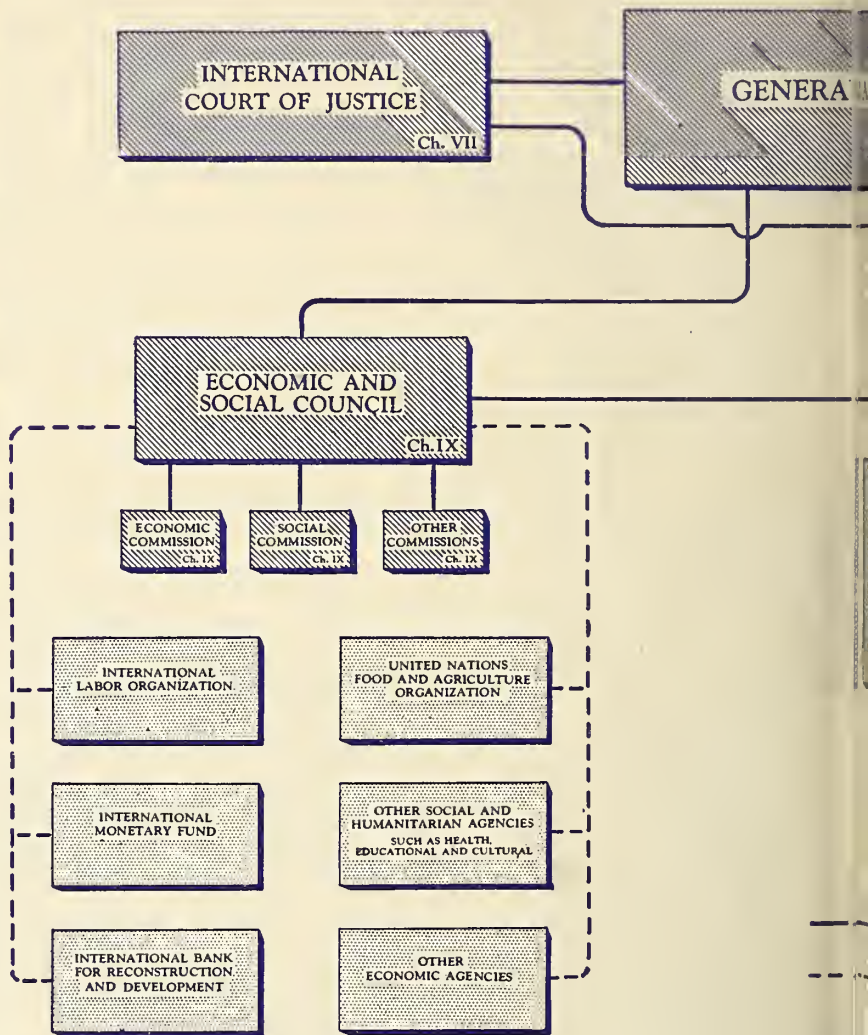
WHAT IS PROPOSED: The F. A. O. would include a *Conference* having 1 representative from each member nation and meeting at least once a year; an *Executive Committee* of from 9 to 15 members appointed by the *Conference* from its members or their alternate or associate members, a *Director General* appointed by the *Conference*, and a *Staff* appointed by the *Director General*.

What kind of things would the F. A. O. do?

1. Collect information about nutrition and food and farming, including forestry and fisheries. Analyze and interpret this information in plain language and supply it through their governments to the people of all countries. So farmers all over the world would be enabled to learn about the latest discoveries in crop and livestock production in other countries.

Every nation would agree to re-

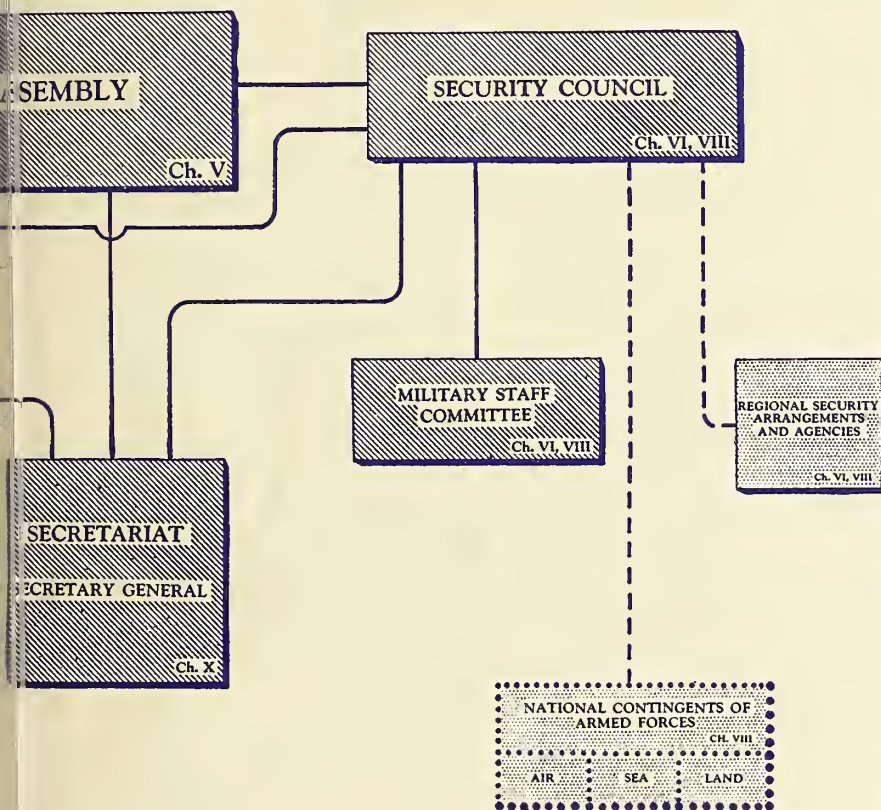
THE UNITED NATIONS DUMBARTON OAKS THE GENERAL INTERIM



Prepared by the Division of International Security and Organization,
and the Division of Geography and Cartography, Department of State.

November 7, 1944. 1506 D.

UNITED NATIONS PROPOSALS FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION



— Direct relationship as defined in the Proposals

- - - Relationship to be determined by special agreements or arrangements

Members refer to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, October 7, 1944, Supplement Publication 2192.

port regularly on measures taken and progress made. The F. A. O. would publish these reports.

2. Promote and recommend national or international action toward agricultural development and adjustment in the fields of research, education, administration, conservation, production, processing, marketing, credit, and commodity arrangements. For instance, it is well known that Europe might well put less emphasis on growing cereal grains and increase production of milk and eggs and vegetables and fruits. Those are the things that the people of Europe NEED most and that they can best produce for themselves. So the F. A. O. might recommend and promote certain adjustments toward these ends and thus help prevent serious national and international difficulties.

3. Give technical help to nations that ask for it on programs that would be in line with needed adjustments of world agriculture away from commodities in chronic surplus. For instance, if a country unfamiliar with the results of modern scientific research wanted some help, the F. A. O. could send a mission of experts to advise them on conservation problems, scientific farming, and good food habits for the people.

In this way the farmers of such a nation might be helped to grow enough food for that nation and so to meet industry half way in a shared program for national and world prosperity. You don't get prosperity anywhere if efficient farming is not matched in that nation or in some trader nation by a program of industrial production which provides jobs and starts purchasing power on the road to the farmers' market.

In some more highly developed countries the F. A. O. might help develop programs for food stamps, school milk at reduced prices, or other programs aimed at giving low-income families enough to eat.

Organization be established. And they set up an *Interim Commission* to draw a plan for such an organization.

By March 1945 this *Interim Commission*, with its headquarters in Washington, D. C., had drafted a Constitution for the F. A. O., and 18 nations had indicated their intention to accept it. When 20 nations have approved it, the permanent organization is to be established and work will begin at once.



The goals of the F. A. O.: (1) Better nutrition and higher standards of living for people everywhere; (2) more efficient production and distribution of farm products; (3) better conditions of rural living; (4) an "expanding world economy": more goods produced, more people served, more workers at work and at better pay, and freer exchange of goods and services.

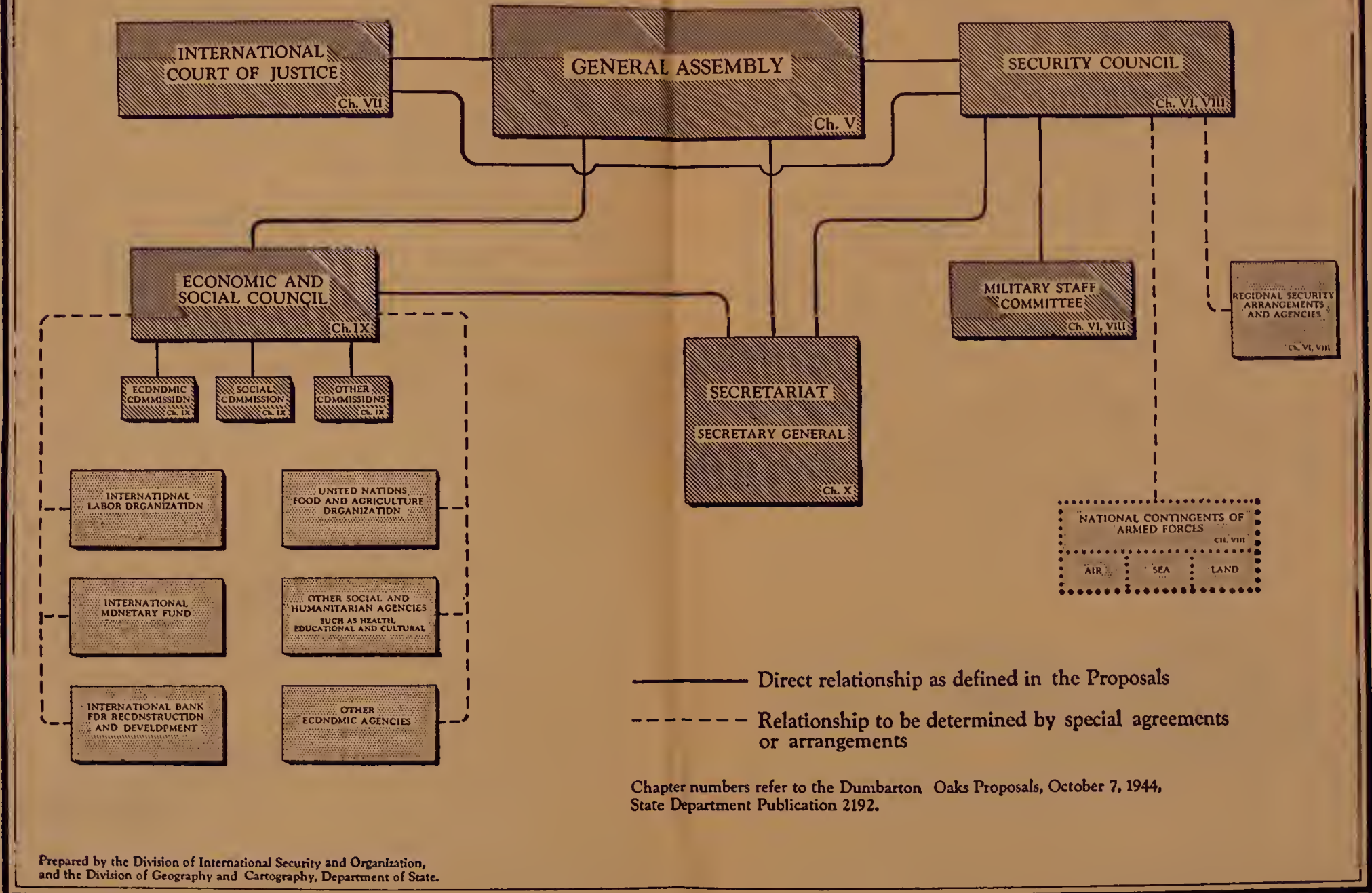
WHAT IS PROPOSED: The F. A. O. would include a *Conference* having 1 representative from each member nation and meeting at least once a year; an *Executive Committee* of from 9 to 15 members appointed by the *Conference* from its members or their alternate or associate members, a *Director General* appointed by the *Conference*, and a *Staff* appointed by the *Director General*.

What kind of things would the F. A. O. do?

1. Collect information about nutrition and food and farming, including forestry and fisheries. Analyze and interpret this information in plain language and supply it through their governments to the people of all countries. So farmers all over the world would be enabled to learn about the latest discoveries in crop and livestock production in other countries.

Every nation would agree to re-

THE UNITED NATIONS DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS FOR THE GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION



November 7, 1944. 1506 D.

port regularly on measures taken and progress made. The F. A. O. would publish these reports.

2. Promote and recommend national or international action toward agricultural development and adjustment in the fields of research, education, administration, conservation, production, processing, marketing, credit, and commodity arrangements. For instance, it is well known that Europe might well put less emphasis on growing cereal grains and increase production of milk and eggs and vegetables and fruits. Those are the things that the people of Europe NEED most and that they can best produce for themselves. So the F. A. O. might recommend and promote certain adjustments toward these ends and thus help prevent serious national and international difficulties.

3. Give technical help to nations that ask for it on programs that would be in line with needed adjustments of world agriculture away from commodities in chronic surplus. For instance, if a country unfamiliar with the results of modern scientific research wanted some help, the F. A. O. could send a mission of experts to advise them on conservation problems, scientific farming, and good food habits for the people.

In this way the farmers of such a nation might be helped to grow enough food for that nation and so to meet industry half way in a shared program for national and world prosperity. You don't get prosperity anywhere if efficient farming is not matched in that nation or in some trader nation by a program of industrial production which provides jobs and starts purchasing power on the road to the farmers' market.

In some more highly developed countries the F. A. O. might help develop programs for food stamps, school milk at reduced prices, or other programs aimed at giving low-income families enough to eat.

WHAT DO YOU THINK? What difference would each of these programs make to farmers in the United States? How much would they help in preventing wars? What other kinds of program should the F. A. O. undertake?

Would you favor steadying world trade by special commodity arrangements among principal producing and consuming countries, or would it be better for us to make a fight for as big a share of the world market as we can get in each commodity field? Did such "economic warfare" in the years from 1925 to 1940 really help any country? Or would the farmers of the world be better off if the nations put their farm and food programs face up on the same conference table?

AN ORGANIZATION TO SAFEGUARD PEACE



Turn now from the welfare proposals to those for dealing with disputes.

WHAT IS PROPOSED: The *Security Council* would have 11 members—1 representative each from the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, and France, and 1 from each of 6 other nations elected by the General Assembly for 2 years each. The *Security Council* would be in session all the time; it could investigate any matter at all that seemed to threaten the peace, and could recommend ways of straightening things out at any time.

To keep the peace, member nations would agree to settle disputes with

other nations by peaceful negotiation, conciliation, arbitration, or reference to the *International Court of Justice* on points touched on by international law.



If these direct methods should fail to settle the dispute or to get rid of its threat to peace and security, the *Security Council* could take any measures necessary for the purpose consistent with the Charter, and in any order it sees fit—new negotiation with the disputants, breaking off diplomatic relations with the nation found at fault, cutting off trade and loans from other countries, and if necessary using armed forces. These armed forces—land, sea and air—would be provided by the member states on a basis determined in advance. To insure the peace against all transgressors, the *Organization* could take action against nonmember nations if necessary.

The *Military Staff Committee* would include the chiefs of staff (or their representatives) of the five permanent members of the *Council*, with the other nations taking part when necessary. It would advise on the use of armed force, and work with the *Security Council* and the *Assembly* on proposals for disarmament.

At Yalta, President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin agreed on a voting proposal for the *Security Council*. For any decision, 7 out of 11 members would have to vote favorably. And on mere procedural questions, any 7 votes would serve. But for decisions involving sanctions (diplomatic, economic, or military force) or to declare that a threat or breach of peace exists, the Big Five would all have to vote "Yes," even if one of

them were involved in the dispute. (So a great power would always be able to veto such action against itself.) On all other questions, the Big Five would have to agree, except that no nation involved in a dispute could vote. For instance, a great power charged with aggression could not prevent the *Council* from declaring that its action would threaten world peace *in the end*.

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

1. Should we in the United States join in any world effort to prevent wars? Is it in our own interests to do so? Or is our own power enough defense? Could the United States or any nation hope to be safe from another major war? Can little wars be KEPT little wars in a world like this? What difference do rocket bombs make? Is there a need for a forum like this *Security Council*? Is the need for such a forum greater or less because of differences in the political forms of nations? As a great power, do we have a responsibility to help in stopping aggressor nations? For peace, should we be willing to accept the same limits on our right to do as we please as other nations?

2. Should member nations be bound (for the sake of quick action) to make armed forces available to



the *Security Council* under these terms, without special vote of congress or parliament? Would such use of United States armed forces be contrary to our Constitution?

Facts: Under our Constitution only the Congress can *declare war*. But the President is responsible for the defense of the Nation and when he sees fit, *can call out troops* for operations abroad (or at home) without

any declaration of war. That has happened 77 times in our history. Accordingly, the President's representative on the *Security Council*, under his instructions, could agree to the use of existing forces of the United States when necessary in defense of the Nation. Or Congress could create by statute the office of *Delegate to the Security Council* (to represent the President) with powers exactly defined.

3. Is it reasonable for the great

powers to have a larger voice than other nations in decisions of the Security Council? Is this justified by their greater responsibility for putting teeth in the Organization's decisions? Would a special United Nations armed force be practicable?

Note that under the rule agreed on, the great powers would need the support of only two other nations in order to determine action. Would the smaller nations have enough

protection from the strong on this basis? More or less than at present?

Should one of the Big Five have the power to veto United Nations action against itself? In practice, would that power make any difference? In case of an aggression by a great power, could the United Nations prevent a World War anyway? Or do the great powers HAVE to work together if peace is to be preserved?

AMERICANS MUST DECIDE

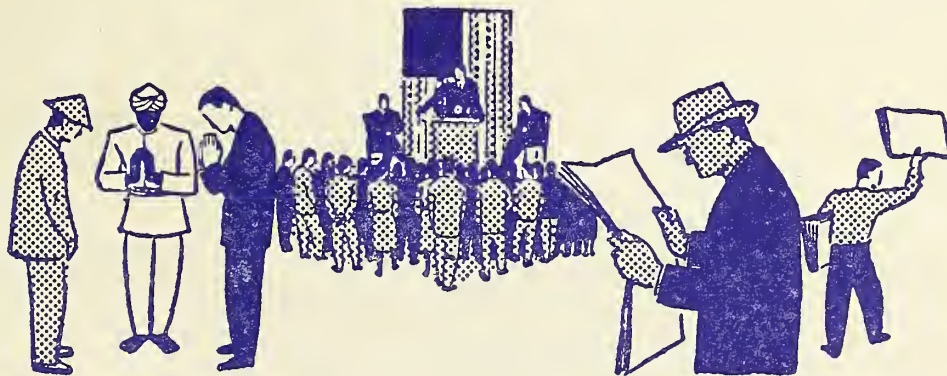
The United States and Britain and Russia and China and their allies have been fighting side by side for several years. Now the French, re-armed by us, are again taking part in the fight. We have given of ourselves and our sons, our daughters, our brothers, and our fathers and of our substance to defeat ruthless aggressors. We have learned to plan and to work together in war. Our unity has survived difficult strains. Our leaders have come to know each other in repeated face-to-face conference. Our unity has grown.

Should we hold this unity and build on this unity a permanent international organization to promote the general welfare and safeguard the peace we have won? Or should we stand aloof from all organization if we are not completely satisfied with the plan?

The workmen at Dumbarton Oaks set themselves a practical goal and strove to turn out a practical set of proposals. They aimed to outline not an ideal plan but a plan which has a real chance of fulfillment,

which takes account of where people and governments are in 1945 in their thinking, and builds as far as possible on top of past experience.

Some people may think the proposals go too far. Others may think they do not go far enough. Is there a basis on which all can unite in support of the proposals, having the realities of 1945 in view? Would the proposed Organization strike at the roots of war? Should we join? Americans must decide!



FOR DISCUSSION THAT GETS SOMEWHERE

As Sponsor of the Meeting

Plan *group* discussion if you expect fewer than 20 or 30 persons, *panel* discussion if you expect more. (For Panel Discussion Suggestions, ask your County agent for copies of United States Department of Agriculture leaflet DN-4, or write to Extension Publications at your State college.)

Send this guide (DS-28) to group members beforehand. Appoint one of your neighbors to lead the discussion—well in advance. Invite experts to join in. Make everyone comfortable. Chairs in a circle for informality. Introduce everybody.

As Member of the Group

Enter into the discussion freely. Tell what you know and think. Speak briefly and to the point. Be a good listener. Give others a chance. Avoid prejudice and partisan controversy. Strive for the truth. Everyone stay seated. Help hold the discussion together and keep it on the subject.

As Leader of Discussion

Study the guide in advance. Ask members to do the same. Ask one member to be familiar with the over-all proposals, another with those for "building the peace"; one with the Food and Agriculture proposals; still another with those for "safeguarding the peace." Keep presentations brief. Make place for discussion between them.

Prepare your own discussion plan including questions that matter most for your group. Place heavy emphasis on personal recollections and judgment of group members. Draw on material in the leaflet whenever it is helpful.

Keep your own view out of it. Aim at 100-percent participation. Put questions to the whole group. Sum up discussion now and then. Keep it on the track. You want it to get somewhere. If you need several sessions to finish the job, plan them. Plan for action.



FOR YOUR FUTURE STUDY

Basic material: Dumbarton Oaks Documents on International Organization, Department of State Publication 2223, Conference Series 60; and Food for the Family of Nations: The Purpose and Structure of the Proposed Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Department of State Publication 2296.

Study if you have a chance these four *Foreign Affairs Outlines* on Building the Peace, just published by the Department of State, available from the Division of Publications, Agricultural Extension Service, at your State college: (1) War—How can we prevent it? (2) Prosperity—How can we promote it? (3) Social Progress—How can we work for it?, and (4) Freedom—How can we realize it?

Among related Department of Agriculture publications, study especially (1) Let's Talk about Buying and Selling Farm Products Abroad, a Discussion Guide for Farm Groups, (2) A Post-War Foreign Trade Program for United States Agriculture; and (3) International Trade Increases Demand for Farm Products.

Listen to broadcasts on Our Foreign Policy, over NBC every Saturday 7 to 7:30 p. m. eastern war time. Or see local program listings for time and day on your local NBC station.

Ask your county agent about these and other reading materials, radio programs, recordings, films, and film strips.

You can get more copies of this leaflet without cost from your State agricultural extension service, or from the Office of Information, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C.



*United States Department of Agriculture
Bureau of Agricultural Economics
in cooperation with the
Extension Service
April 1945*